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extent warped the results of even so clear a head as Chamberlain and so ripe a scholar as Muncker. Wagner's debt to Deinhardstein and Lortzing has been often referred to; Egon von Komorzynski (*Euphorion*, VIII, 340-350) was the first to trace the development of the principal *motif* in the Meistersinger from F. W. Ziegler's *Liebhaber und Nebenbuhler im einer Person* through Hensler's *Waffenschmied*, E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Meister Martin der Kufner*, and the Hans Sachs operas of Deinhardstein and Lortzing down to Wagner's genial adaptation. Particularly Hoffmann's influence is of importance, as it is probable that Wagner not only borrowed the local color from him, but that it was through the great *Geisterseher* that his attention was first called to the *motif* of the story and to the common source of both for the *Meistergesang*, Wagenseil.¹⁷

Professor Bigelow's translation of the stage directions into English is a good idea, increasing considerably the usefulness of the work. A comparison with the Schott edition shows that the obscure "Wagnerian" German has been carefully and cleverly rendered. The following are inaccurately given: *bang* (22, 12) should read "anxiously," not "timidly" (timidly!), with *drängt fort* (25, 2) Eva is understood as object, *fernere* (26, 10) has a local significance, *unmutige* (48, 23) should read "vexed," *ist gekommen* (70, 2) is incorrectly rendered as "comes," *gewehend* (78, 11) as "watching." In view of the elliptical and archaic nature of the language, the notes appear insufficient, even for college students. David's recital of the *Weisen* (p. 29) and Beckmesser's list of Walther's errors (p. 53) contain much that calls loudly for explanation not given in introduction or vocabulary. The *Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg* is referred to as (p. 44) an historical occurrence! The singing by the crowd of the "Wittenbergisch Nachtigall" (p. 124), a powerful stroke of Wagner's, calls forth no note of comment.

The vocabulary seems for the most part good and sufficient, although users of the book will find that here also too much has been sacrificed to

brevity. *Gebänd* appears as *Geband*, *Färbetunke* as *Farbetunke*, *Blum'* is inaccurately glossarized as "ornament," *Differenz* finds no explanation in the technical sense, nor does *Spruchsprecher* (124, 21), with its rich connotation of Old Nuremberg; missing altogether are *Anhang*, (blinde) *Meinung*, *Singstuhl*, *Vor- und Nachklang*.

In conclusion, in the first Wagner opera to appear as an American school-text, space might well have been found for a brief biographical note. It is to be hoped that others will follow Professor Bigelow in making such masterpieces of Romanticism accessible for class use.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Das Beowulflied. Als Anhang das Finn-Bruchstück und die Waldhere-Bruchstücke. Bearbeiteter Text und deutsche Übersetzung von MORITZ TRAUTMANN. [Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. M. Trautmann. Heft xvi]. Bonn: P. Hansstein's Verlag, 1904.

From Trautmann's previous treatment of the venerable poem of *Beowulf* (*Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, vols. II, VII), we were led to expect something unusual in the way of an edition. And now his complete text has appeared, one feels like saying, with a Beowulfian phrase, *he beot ne aleh!* It is distinctly 'Trautmann's Beowulf.' The text has been modified by an enormous number of original emendations (roughly estimated, between four and five hundred), some of them indeed splendid, but most of them either impossible or though within the limits of possibility, yet entirely unwarranted by the context or unsupported by analogy. A particularly provoking feature of many of the changes is the resultant deterioration of sense, dilution of style, or impoverishment of phrase. Indeed, if this version were a truer representative of the original poem than the texts of the current editions, our estimate of the celebrated epic would have to be considerably lowered.

What principles the editor has followed in cor-

¹⁷ Mey, 305. Hans von Wolzogen, *Bayreuther Bl.* XVI, gives a rather one-sided account of Hoffmann's influence on Wagner. Twice in the *Serapions-Brüder* Hoffmann calls attention to Wagenseil's work. Grisebach's edition, VII. 22; VIII. 200.

recting the ms., it is not quite easy to see. When he says in the Preface: "Das aber kann ich sagen, dass ich nie ohne zwingenden grund, wenigstens für mich zwingenden grund, geändert habe," the bewildered reader of this recension will be inclined to regard the limitation conscientiously added to the statement as its most important part. Again the editor remarks: "Der Beowulf ist ein klassisches werk, ein gipfel der kunst seiner art; daher sind wir, wo wir auf schiefen ausdrück, unklarheit des gedankens, widersprüche, stilwidrige wendungen, unbelegbare satzfügungen stossen, berechtigt und verpflichtet, fehlerhafte überlieferung zu vermuten und auf besserung zu denken." Yet it should not be forgotten that an ancient poem is not to be measured by modern standards. The style of the old Germanic poetry does not follow modern German rules, and what seems awkward or illogical to us, may be in perfect accordance with the literary ways of our forefathers. Hence all attempts to alter the text which do not proceed from a careful consideration of its inherent characteristics, or in other words, from a fine stylistic feeling with regard to Old English poetry, are liable to turn out failures. Certain it is that in a great many instances an emendation is nothing but a confession of weakness.

It would require dozens of pages to discuss satisfactorily an adequate number of Trautmann's innovations. But this is hardly desirable. About many changes it is not possible to argue at all. In some instances again I might find myself fighting against windmills, for it may easily happen that an emendation proposed in this text will be retracted or exchanged for a new one in a subsequent volume. (Thus we note, e. g., in l. 752 of the edition the reading *on ðþrum men*, 262 *wæs mīn fæder [foldan] folcum gecyþed*, 281 *broc eft cuman*, 357 *anhār*, 457 *for gewyrhtum þū*, *wīne mīn Bēowulf*, 850 *dēah-fāge dēop*, 49 (*lētōn hold beran*) *gearo on gār-secg*, whereas in *Bonner Beiträge* II the emendations *on ēngan men*, *wæs mīn fæder [monegum] folcum gecyðed*, *bona eft cuman*, *unhrōr*, *fore fyhtum þū frēond mīn Bēowulf*, *dēahfāge dēof*, *geofon on gār-secg* had been pleaded for). But I will take up certain groups of emendations arranged according to the nature of the objections which immediately present themselves.¹

¹Several emendations, which seem to be original with Trautmann, should be labeled with the names of other

1. Unrecorded words have been introduced in goodly numbers: *sweorc* 161, *eoset* 224, *dēað-scaþa* 275, 479, *bewæðian* 331, *grand-grama* 424, *mīst-hlēow* 710, *fen-hlēow* 820, *glīw-hlæden* 868, *wræð-ræden* 1142, *gēo-sceaft-gerýne* 1234, (*æfter*) *nēd-late* 1320, *ecg-hwæs* 1459, *geferda* 1691, *for-sigan* 1767, *and-weges* 1935, *dēað-fruma* 2090, *bū-fole* 2220, *hyge-mæððo* 2442, *læð-fordēdla* 2467, (*tō*) *gescio* 'zum zusammenstoss' 2570, *anlengne (eorl)* 2695, *ofer-hwīlian* 2766, *holgum (geheaðe-rod)* 'in den kerker eingeschlossen' 3072, *gifel* 'reiz' 3085. Some of these may have existed in Old English, but there is no proof of the fact, and it is bad policy to coin words when the context does not call for a desperate remedy.

2. Violation of syntax is involved in cases like the following: *siþðan hine* (ms. *him*) *scýppend forscrifen hæfde* 106 (cf. Sievers, *Beitr.* xxix, 311). *eoton weard ābād* 668 (in place of *eotenes*). *bēaga bryttan brēac þone māstan* '[ich] mich erfreute des grössten ringespenders' 1487; certainly in the *Beowulf* no other case than the genitive can be tolerated after *brūcan*. *nē bið þē nēnige gād* | *worolde wilna* 'nicht wird dir irgendwie mangel sein an der welt freuden' 949, similarly *nāige* 1502; (*n*)*ānige* cannot take the place of (*n*)*ānige þinga*. *hē þæt wyrpe* (ms. *wyrse*) *nē con* 'er weiss nicht den umschwung' 1739; *wyrpe* is never neuter. Also the ungrammatical use of *mā* ('plus, magis') in 69: *medo-ærn micel*, *mā* ('ein grösseres') *gewyrcean* may be mentioned. (That in Harrison-Sharp's edition *medo-ærn micle mā gewyrcean* had been suggested, seems to have been overlooked by Trautmann).

3. Unauthorized meanings or applications of words, objectionable or doubtful phrases have been forced upon the text in numerous places.

scholars by reason of chronological priority. Thus 63: Thorpe (Grein 1, Heyne, Wülker), 762: Ettmüller (Grein 2, Heyne 2-5, Wülker), 424: Kemble (Ettmüller, Krüger), 443: Rieger, 926: Rask (Bugge), 1015: Hornburg, 1304: Sievers (Holthausen), 1454: Cosijn, 1658: Grundtvig (Bugge), 2150: Holthausen, 2421: Grundtvig (Grein, Rieger, Heyne 1, Wülker), 2453: Thorpe (Heyne, Wülker), 2457 (*swefeð*): Grein (Rieger, Wülker), 2581: Sievers (Holthausen), 2685: Thorpe (Grein 1, Heyne 1), 2990: Wyatt (*for*), or: Heyne 4 (*fore*), 3041: Bugge, 3084 (*gecēapod*): Sarrazin, 3145 (*læc*): Bugge. In the note on l. 60, Kemble (Thorpe, Grein, Heyne) should be substituted for Kluge.

Thus *hæle scearpōdon* 204 'sie schärften den mann' is hardly compatible with the only warranted sense of *scearpian*, 'scarify.' *scyrtan* 'shorten' appears unreasonably extended, as to meaning, in *þæt hit scēaðend-mæl* (read *scēaðend-mæl*?) *scyrtan* [nē] *mōste* 1939 'dass es ein richterspruch (?) mindern nicht konnte.' The signification of *æfst* (a favorite word of Trautmann's) 'malice, envy, zeal,' does not justify the conjecture *þā wæs æfst boden Swēona lēodum* 2957 'dar- auf ward unheil geboten den leuten der Schweden.' The emendation *þæt hē gēmunga gūð-gewædu*, | *wræne* (MS. *wraðe*) *forwurpe* 2871 'dass er gänzlich die kampfrüstungen, leichtfertig, verschleudert hat' derives no support from the fact that in modern German 'leichtfertig' may imply the sense of OE. *wræne* 'lecherous.' *þā sē ðeoden mec ðiccelice* (MS. *ðine life*) *healsōde hrēoh-mōd* 2131 'da beschwor mich der fürst viele male, der kummermütige' sounds like continental German (see also *Gen. B* 684, 705). *feorh-æacen mon* 1701 'der wolbetagte mann' rests on no safer foundation than *feorh-æaceno cynn* ('omnia animantia'), *Gen. 204. land-gewyrpu* 209 (MS. *gemyrcu*) in the sense of 'land-[schutz]-dämme' and *searo-nð(a)* 3067 as adjective 'grimm' are very doubtful, still more so *hord* 'bahre' (??) 1108.

þær mæg nihta gehwām nð wundor sēon 'da kann der mensch in jeder nacht ein wunder schauen' 1365 is precluded by the stereotyped plural use of *niþþas*.

swā begyman (MS. *be gylpan*, Edd. *begylpan ne* or *ne gylpan*) *þearf Grendeles māga* | *æfre* (MS. *en . . .*?, Edd. *ænig*) *ofer eorðan ūht-hlem þone* 2006 invites criticism because 1, *þurfan* with infinitive appears regularly in negative or interrogative clauses (or in clauses preceded by a negation), and 2, *begyman* (generally with genitive, by the way), is known in no other sense than 'take care of, attend to.'

fæder æpel hwearf, | *aldres, on eaforan* 'des vaters erbsitz ging, des fürsten, an den sohn' 55 cannot be admitted, since of the very numerous instances in which *hweorfan* occurs (according to Grein), not a single one exhibits an analogous phraseological use. Phrases that would suit Trautmann's meaning are found in ll. 2207: *syððan Bēowulfe brāde rice* | *on hand gehwearf*,

1679: *hit on æht gehwearf . . . Denigea frēan*, 1684: *on geweald gehwearf woroldecyninga* | *ðæm sēlestan*, cf. 1210.

Other obnoxious combinations may briefly be pointed out. *frēondum bī fēolan* 'zu den freunden sich zu begeben' 1126, *ferþ-ellen wræc* 'vollbrachte heldenthats (??)' 2706, *þæt ic his eorneste est gesægde* 'dass ich ernsthaften dank dafür sagte (??)' 2157, *þē on land Dena lādra nænig* | *mid scip-herge scriþan* (MS. *sceðþan*) *nē meakte* 242.

4. Style and tone have seriously suffered in the process of 'improving' the poem. In the nature of the case, it is impossible to prove mathematically the lowering of the poetic standard, but I expect little difference of opinion on the subjoined illustrations. Of course, the emended passages are not attacked on the ground that they impress the modern reader as being of a lower (or for that matter, higher) order of poetry, but because they run counter to the literary spirit of the Old English poetry, and in particular of the *Beowulf* itself.

Shallow triviality results from the editorial change in instances like the following. *ofer þæm hongiað hlinende* (MS. *hrinde*) *bearwas* 1363. *þær him wæte water wihte nē sceþede* 'wo ihm das nasse wasser (!) gar nicht schadete' 1514. *wæs mīn fæder [foldan] folcum geōyþed* 262. *wæs sē iren-þrēat* | *wæpnum bewēdad* 'der waffen entkleidet' 330,—indeed a fall from the fine picture of the original *wæpnum gewurðad*. In the same category belongs the suggestion (fortunately relegated to the foot-notes) to substitute *fersum reccan* for *feorran reccan* in ll. 91 and 2106.

It is a pity to see some of the most characteristic tropes sacrificed. The magnificent phrase *mid gryrum ecga* 483 has been sobered down to *mid griþum ecga* 'mit streichen der schwerter.' *dēapscia* 160 has given way to *dēap-scaþa*. The well-known *hildegicelum* 1607 has disappeared (Trautmann: *hilde-gifrum*), and the bold *hioro-dryneum* (*swealt*) 2358 is looked for in vain (Trautmann: *hioro-dyntum*).

Concrete, graphic traits have been destroyed also in ll. 1041: *næfre on ore læg (wīdcūpes wig)* (Tr.: *næfre ellen ālæg*), 2695: (*ðā ic æt þearfe [gefyræn] þēod-cyninges*) *andlongne eorl ellen cýðan* (Tr.: *anlengne eorl* 'der anverwandte Held'), 1637: *fēower* (Tr.: *fēþan*) *scoldon . . .*

weorcum geferian . . . *Grendles hēafod*, 801 : *sāwle sēcan* (Tr.: *sāwle sēocan*).

Intolerably abstract and suspiciously modern are the ideas introduced by the following emendations. *sōðe gebunden* 871 (which by changing the preceding words is made the beginning of a sentence) 'durch die wirklichkeit gebunden begann der mann darauf die fahrt Beowulfs klug anzustimmen.' *þonne cwið æt bēore, sē ðē bāle* (ms. *beah*) *gesyðð* 2041 'der den hochmut sieht.' *sōna hē þrydode*, | *þæt him fram ðām gyste gryre-brȳga stōd* 2226 'bald überlegte er (!) dass ihm von dem gaste grauser schrecken drohte.' Instances of similar interpretational leanings are the translation of *bearhtm ongēaton*, | *gūðhorn galan* 1431 'sie hatten das kampfhorn gehört die töne geben,' and the mention of *flet-ræste geþeah* 1241 as a possibility in place of *flet-ræste gebēag*.

An ill-chosen epithet for the Danish king (in spite of his advanced age) is *gūð-rōw* 608 'der kampfstille'; he is properly named *guðrof* in the ms., just as *sigerōf kyning* 619.

Cases of unconscious humor may be found in ll. 600 and 1892.

(*hwilum cyninges þegn* . . .) *word-hlēoper fand* 870 is a bald, heavy close of a sentence which requires relief by variation.

The substitution of grammatical subordination for coordination (e. g., 852, 925, 1274) is a move in the wrong direction. The same is true of the introduction of relative clauses, which clearly serves to weaken the style, e. g. 201 (ms. *pa*, cf. 1835 !), 2038 (ms. *þenden hie*), 1113 (ms. *sume*). Of a still more serious nature is the free and easy interchanging of conjunctions, as 574 *hwæpere* > *þeah þē*, 587 *þeah* > *ah*, 733 *þā* > *þēh*, 1576 *ac* > *swā*, 1585 *tō* ðæs *þe* > *þā*, 1598 *þā* > *ac*, 2181 *ac* > *þeah*, 2577 *þæt* > *ac*, 2727 *ðā* > *ðæt*, 3038 *ær* > *ēac*.

5. In most of the cases cited, it should be understood, there is no good reason for altering the transmitted text. To show still further the groundlessness of the majority of emendations, I beg to point out some miscellaneous passages which are entirely satisfactory in the original, but have been made to feel the weight of Trautmann's subjective criticism. The genuineness of *dædhata* 275, *hatian* . . . *lāðum dædum* 2466, *lufode* ðā

lēode 1982 admits of no doubt (cf. *H. Archiv* cix, 305 f.), yet in this edition we find *dēað-scaþa*, *hatian* . . . *lāð-fordædlan*, *lufode* instead. *dæd-fruma* 2090 is irreproachable (Bugge, *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*, viii, 67 f.), yet it has been 'corrected' to *dēað-fruma*. *him ðæs guð-kyning* . . . *wræce leornode* 2335 is far more to the point than . . . *lēanode* (cf. Sweet, *Ag. Dict.*, and note on *Cur. P.* 435. 22). *lig-ȳðum forborn* | *bord wið rond* 2672 (which may, however, have to be changed to *ronde*, as has been done by Kemble, Ettmüller, Heyne, and others) does not look at all improbable by the side of *wið heofenas* (= usque ad cœlos), *wið wolcnum* (= usque ad nubes), (*Par.*) *Ps.* lvi, 12, and similar passages that may be found in Grein and Bosw.-Toller; yet Trautmann writes: *bord, mid bronde*.

That the personal pronoun as subject may be omitted in certain cases has been fully shown by Pogatscher (*Anglia* xxiii, 261-301); nevertheless pronominal forms have been inserted again in ll. 68, 470, 567, 2519, likewise in l. 1365 a more than superfluous *nīð* has been printed (cf. *Anglia* xxvii, 428).

The phrases *sume worde hēt* 2156, *fēa worda cwæð* 2246, *fēa worda cwæð* 2662 are above suspicion, but in the first place Tr. writes *syðf*, in the second *frēa* (*word æcwæð*), though he leaves the third undisturbed. Why? *þonne hniton* (*hnitan*) *fēpan*, which occurs in ll. 1327 and 2544, is in the former instance, emended to *here-fēpan*. Why?

brēc þonne mōste 1487 is a faultless epic phrase (see Rieger, *Germ.* ix, 310; Sievers, note on *Heliland* 224), why must it be broken up? *hwanan ēowre cyme syndon* 257 appears in Trautmann's version as *hwanan ēow cyme syndon*. Would the editor change also *Jul.* 259 *hwanan his cyme wære*, *Guðl.* 1196 *hwanan his cyme sindon*?

A feature of 'variation' by no means uncommon, namely, the coupling of apparently incongruous terms, has been smoothed away by tampering with ll. 1462 f., 3066 f., 1687 f.

Merewioingas (*mitls*) 2921 has been emended, after the example of other editors and commentators, to *Merewioinga*, but it is evident that to show *mitlse* is the business of the king, not the people.

That a number of changes have been made for metrical reasons, may be taken as a matter of course. But it is again Trautmann's individual views on the subject of Old English versification that have dictated the metrical emendations.

To be fair, it is to be acknowledged that throughout the work the editor displays a great deal of ingenuity as well as honest scholarly perseverance. He never shirks a difficulty. He is actuated by a sincere spirit of research and leaves no stone unturned to satisfy his scientific conscience. Many of his suggestions are remarkably acute, and some of the emendations are without question plausible. Among these I count 420 : *þær ic fīfla gebann | ȝōde, eotena cȳn*, 1515 : *for hrōf-þele* (MS. *hrof sele*), 1733 : *þæt hē his sēlþa* (MS. *selfa*) *nē mæg | for his un-snytttrum ende ȝepencean*, 2395 : *hē ȝewræc syððan | cwealm* (MS. *cealdū*) *cear-siðum*, 2697 : *ac siō hand ȝebēah* (MS. *gebarn*). But specimens of this kind are bought at a very heavy price.

The text is accompanied by a literal line-for-line translation, which is very useful, since it removes all possible doubt about the editor's interpretation of debatable passages. The work has been executed with evident care. Still, I am bound to dissent from his rendering oftener than I anticipated. Thus, to mention instances from the first half of the poem, in ll. 83, 87, 280, 387, 423, 462, 488, 514, 600, 603, 632, 933, 1022 f., 1089 f., 1206, 1431 f., 1436. The mistranslation of *þē ūs sēceað tō Swēona lēoda* 3001 '(der tödliche hass . . .) der uns heimsuchen wird, der Schwedenleute' could certainly have been avoided. Remarkable cases of mistaken renderings resulting from wrong punctuation occur in ll. 901, 1556, 1859 ff.; the first of these seems in fact ineradicable. A further discussion of individual passages cannot, however, be undertaken in this place.

Trautmann's text of the *Fight at Finnesburh* is reproduced almost verbatim from his *Finn und Hildebrand*; the edition of *Waldhere* shows some minor changes from his former recension as printed in *Bonner Beiträge*, vol. v and corrected in vol. xi.

Summing up, I would say that Trautmann's work is interesting and suggestive in a high degree and may serve to set scholars thinking on some of

the numerous problems of the text, but that it suffers from a disregard of sound principles of criticism. If the editor had applied his energy, erudition, and acumen in a spirit of enlightened conservatism, we might now have a model, up-to-date text of the great epic poem. As it is, only a small fraction of what is new in this volume can be accepted as a fruitful, positive contribution to the study of *Beowulf*.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

JUAN DE MENA. *El Laberinto de Fortuna*.

Colophon : Fue ynpressa la presente obra en la muy noble e muy leal çibdad de Macon, por yndustria de los onrrados varones Protat ermanos, maestros en libros de molde. Acabose a xviii. dias del mes de agosto año de Mdeccciii años, seyendo corrector de la ynpression R. Foulché-Delbosc.

The present edition of the *Trezientas* of Juan de Mena is printed with a magnificence of which its author certainly never dreamed. M. Foulché-Delbosc has long been occupied with this poem, as all readers of the *Revue Hispanique* know. His thorough and searching study, entitled : "Étude sur el Laberinto de Juan de Mena"¹ appeared in that journal two years ago (1902). The first part of this study is concerned with the true title of the poem, with an appendix (A) containing twenty-seven octaves wrongly incorporated in the *Trezientas*, and an appendix (C) embracing a copious bibliography of Juan de Mena. M. Foulché-Delbosc shows that the true title is *El Laberinto de Fortuna*, and that it consists of only 297 stanzas. The three octaves which were afterwards added to justify the title of *Las Trezientas*, are wanting in most of the manuscripts, and were printed some years before in the first edition of the *Laberinto*, in the *Cancionero of Ramon de Llabia*, together with twenty-four other octaves, which are contained in some editions of

¹ A Spanish translation, by D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, with the title *Juan de Mena y el "Arte Mayor,"* has since appeared at Madrid, 1903.